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WRL News

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100,000 Protest U.S. Intervention in El Salvador

Beginning of the march in Washington, D.C. *Photo © Lawrence Frank.*

An Analysis of the Peoples Anti-War Mobilization and the Role of the War Resisters League

By Jerry Coffin

In March, the WRL National Committee meeting was presented with a series of reports on our various coalition work. The coalitions were in rough shape. The political in-fighting, both personal and organizational, had reached incredible intensity. Rival coalitions were calling for rival demonstrations on the same issues in Washington a week apart. Many of the larger "progressive" organizations had declared a de facto plague on *every* coalition's house.

The WRL NC was faced with a challenge. Do we opt out of the struggle to create a powerful broad movement on El Salvador, militarism and domestic social issues, or do we provide the aggressive leadership needed to unify our fractured movement? The NC chose the latter course.

Jerry Coffin is on the WRL Executive Committee.

First, the War Resisters League. As a secular and radical pacifist organization we are a pretty confused bunch. We hold a philosophical position against killing for any reason. We've elevated the tactic of nonviolence to a principled position. We support revolutionary change while understanding that most revolutionaries use guns. We are neurotically democratic. No matter who or what holds state power in whatever nation, we're going to jail because our idea of a just society is most people's idea of a utopian fantasy. For much of the progressive movement, particularly some social democrats and all Marxist-Leninist parties, we are marked as hopelessly naive. Nevertheless, we believe, we are committed and we are damn good organizers. In short, we have power within the progressive movement because we have proven time and again that we can put people in the streets in large numbers. People move and take risks because the WRL doesn't lie, doesn't manipulate and backs its words with action. Our active participation in a coalition demonstration adds significantly to the numbers who will participate because we add legitimacy to the demonstration.

Late in 1980, the Peoples Anti-War Mobilization (PAM) called for a Spring demonstration in Washington to be held on May 3. El Salvador was the lead issue with heavy emphasis on racism, budget cuts and militarism. The focus of the demonstration was to be the Pentagon.

PAM was intitiated by the Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF). WWP/YAWF is a Trotskyist-Marxist-Leninist group. For years it functioned in the classic ultra-leftist parasitic mode in progressive demonstrations. With banners flying and bull horns chanting, the small number of YAWF cadre would bully their way to the front of marches and rallies. They had a hard-eyed macho style and became famous for provocative behavior. They played at street fighting with police and demonstration leaders. They were unsafe people to be around.

Over the years YAWF matured. The Workers World Party became a more public entity, and serious effort was put into the Party paper *Workers World*. The Party devoted substantial energy to organnizing in the black, hispanic and "oppressed" communities. In 1980 the Workers World Party ran candidates for elective office, including President. With tongue only slightly in cheek, we can now call them a mainstream Trotskyist-Marxist-Leninist party. The problem is that many folks have vivid memories of WWP/YAWF as being unsafe people to be around.

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El Salvador Organizing *Continued from page 1*

That's not good when one wants to organize a mass-rally type demonstration.

Nevertheless, the PAM coalition grew. There was impressive, strong participation by black and third world organizations. While many of them were small, community-based organizations a number of significant national organizations were affiliated with PAM. The list of demonstration endorsers (while not a true indication of coalition strength) was impressive. While initiated by WWP/YAWF, PAM became a true coalition of independent organizations, personalities and political tendencies. What it did not include were the more moderate progressive organizations, the largely white peace and progressive religious forces, and progressive labor unions. The forces that bring out the large number of people and have the financial resources to support large demonstrations simply were not involved.

In February of 1980, after PAM had begun organizing around May 3 and it was clear a Spring demonstration in Washington had the potential to be a significant event, a second demonstration, to by held on May 9, was called for by competing political entities. Ostensibly, the May 9 demonstration was called by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) at their Detroit National Conference. In fact, the call originated with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) using the classic conference packing techniques they perfected during the anti-Vietnam War days. In a strange alliance, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) joined informally with SWP in pushing for the May 9 demonstration. Thus, SWP and DSOC were pushing a demonstration ostensibly called by CARD but correctly perceived by most forces as an SWP manuever to co-opt the Spring demonstration energy created by PAM which was in term created by WWP/YAWF. Whew!

A few words about SWP and DSOC. The Socialist Workers Party is the largest of the various Trotskyist-Marxist-Leninist parties. Its lineage can be traced directly to the US reflection of the Stalin-Trotsky split. It is a member of the Fourth International, created by Leon Trotsky. Virtually every Trotskyist-Marxist-Leninist party is a split or splinter from the SWP and its direct ancestors.

The SWP was a strong and valued ally in the earlfy anti-Vietnam War Coalitions. They were and are strong organizers. They correctly perceived the anti-war movement as a prime recruiting area. By using convention packing techniques, which they elevated to an art form, the SWP took control of the Student Mobilization Committee of the middle/late 1960's. When they were defeated in similar efforts to take over the New Mobilization Committee in 1969-70 they created their own coalition, the National Peace Action Coalition. NPAC was primarily responsible for organizing the phenominally successful April 24, 1971 march on the capitol which preceeded the historic May Day civil disobedience demonstrations of the same year. If we could call YAWF the tactically adventurists of the period we have to say the SWP anchored the tactically conservative wing of movement.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the other force pushing the May 9 rally, was initiated by a group of people including Michael Harrington, who split from the Social Democrats USA. DSOC was ostensibly supporting the SWP May 9 rally because they didn't like the clearly "left" character of May 3 and wanted a "legislative" focus rather than the "Stop the US War Build-Up" focus of the May 3 demonstration.

As the two demonstrations moved forward, the level of political warfare among progressive organizations increased. The May 9 forces attacked the May 3 demonstration as a plan for violent confrontation. The May 3 forces attacked the May 9 demonstration as racist movement splitting and a sell-out to the Democrats. The progressive organizations not committed to one or the other demonstration—and these were organizations with the largest constituencies—wrote off both demonstrations.

At the local level there was anger and confusion, The intense violence-baiting of the May 3 demonstration frightened people and yet the May 3 date had been out for months. People wanted to go to Washington to speak out and protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the reactionary turn of government, but not if the various progressive organizations were so confused they couldn't settle on a single date and certainly not if there was going to be a violent confrontation.

The essential problem was how to reconcile two bitterly antagonistic political forces around a single date *and* bring in the large forces not represented by either demonstration coalition. The answer was to find a group of bright, hard-working, politically knowledgeable and astute people and talk...and talk...and talk, and then bring people together.

An Ad Hoc May 3 unity committee was established as an alternative. It included as active, hour-by-hour participants, the War Resisters League, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the US Peace Council, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the Mobilization for Survival, and the Progressive Student Network. Other groups supporting the Unity Committee and involved to a greater or lesser degree in the work included the Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Clergy and Laity Concerned, National CARD, District Council 37, and the American Friends Service Committee.

Beginning only six weeks before the May 3/May 9 demonstrations, we were able to achieve a unity of sorts. The SWP and DSOC were intransigent and clearly had "rule or ruin" attitudes. Within days of beginning our work we were able to see that the PAM May 3 forces legitimately wanted to broaden and were willing to make what were, to them, substantial compromises to achieve unity. By the first of April we had eliminated the May 9 date by isolating the SWP and DSOC politically.

As a result of organizing and political errors on the part of the Ad Hoc May 3 unity committee and an incredibly short-sighted tactical blunder on the part of PAM (a separate article by itself) the unified demonstration lost the support of the more moderate progressive groups. While this hurt seriously in fund-raising, the impact was probably negligible as far as ultimate turn out of the demonstration.

What did we achieve? Well, for one thing we had a gloriously affirmative demonstration on the steps of the Pentagon with a largely young crowd of 75,000 to 100,000 people ("official" police estimates of 20,000 people were laughable to anyone who has any knowledge of crowd estimating). We demonstrated our concern over US intervention in El Salvador, increased militarism, budget cutbacks in human needs programs and racist and social repression. We planted the seeds of what can become a truly broad and multi-racial coalition for the peace, anti-nuke and pro-people progressive movement in this country.

And I got to show my youngest daughter, Jessica Danielle Coffin, the place on the Pentagon steps where her daddy got arrested in 1967. For a two and a half year old she showed a lot of patience as I regalled her with my old anti-war stories. Then she wandered off to continue distributing her WRL demonstration tags that read, "US Out of El Salvador."

MANY THANKS

Very low in priorities for staff work is the acknowledgement of contributions from all our wonderful members. So, in order for the staff to use its time for program work and in order to save mailing expenses, the staff takes this opportunity to thank all of you who have sent in contributions this year.

...AND A REMINDER

If you haven't already made a contribution, please—if you are solvent—do so now to help carry us through the summer. Thanks.

WRL's Feminism and Militarism Conference

By Donna Warnock

The WRL Conference on Feminism and Militarism held April 10-12 was an event whose time had come. "Sometimes I begin to wonder what the hell I'm doing on this planet. Then I happen on something like this weekend and I remember," commented one participant. Said another, "I came to get re-inspired, energized. I've been feeling sluggish, disconnected, inactive. It worked." About 150 women from 13 states, some from as far away as Florida, Ohio and Illinois converged in Dingman's Ferry, Pennsylvania, for the gathering.

For many, the Conference seemed like a reunion of the Women's Pentagon Action held last November 16-17 (especially as the audience cheered their friends when Kate Donnelly's wonderful film of the Action was shown). Indeed, the Conference organizers, Susan Pines, Merriel Fish and Sybil Claiborne, got their inspiration from working on the D.C. action. They decided more time was needed for women to get together to explore the connections between sexism and militarism, feminism and non-violence and other topics. They were right.

Saturday morning the group assembled for a panel called "Feminist Perspectives on War, Militarism and Violence." Mary Condren, who is doing graduate work on Irish Liberation Theology, opened with a stunning report of male rituals throughout history. She pointed out that the neutron bomb would destroy all that was born of women or the earth, while preserving men's creative efforts, noting Ronald Reagan's remark, "We have it in our power to make the world over again."

Claudette Furlonge, a Black lesbian organizer with the People's Anti-War Mobilization, addressed Third World liberation struggles and the role of capitalism and imperialism, subjects which many felt needed to be explored in much greater detail. Throughout the weekend women returned to the issues Claudette raised.

Playwright Karen Malpede, a pacifist, feminist, anarchist, and member of the White House Lawn 11, merged the personal and political in her remarks. She related impressions and experiences about her stepson, her father, and the characters in her plays who demonstrated male fear of the female. The compassion she demonstrated for the men close to her who were themselves damaged by the masculine roles they adopted, was provocative and moving. That she did this while not apologizing or capitulating to these men, instead retaining her dignity and critical feminist eye, was inspiring.

Rosemarie Redlich Sherman provided an historical perspective about the suffrage movement in America. She told us of the work of Jane Addams (about whom she is writing a book) and others who worked on women's and peace issues earlier in the century.

I concluded the panel by addressing the way patriarchal thinking leads not only to sexism, but to other forms of oppression, and to ecological destruction, war and the arms race, pointing to the links between violence and virility in pornography, war and international relations under Patriarchy.

The panel was followed by separate caucuses of lesbians, women living with men, students, artists and craftswomen. The caucus which the most women attended—about one-third of the conference, in fact—was an impromptu one called by the participants to discuss organizing strategy. The session clearly illustrated the need for more time to be allocated to discussing action. Without an agenda, we talked about what women are doing in different places, and what kinds of things we'd like to do. There was a clear need for creative thinking about actions which can speak to the many issues of concern to women. Many expressed interest in addressing the repressive Pro-Family bill now moving through Congress, or the Human Life Amendment. Many were enthusiastic about drawing together coalitions around Reagan's budget pointing to how many people suffer while the military coffers are engorged. Others felt they wanted to focus on working with women, to heal the divisions between the feminist and peace movements. As happens so often at conferences, the caucus ran out of time before it had even gotten a sense of direction. But the dialogue it sparked continued throughout the weekend.

Most of the rest of the weekend was spent in a wide variety of workshops, some of which were held twice so more could attend. Judging from the evaluation forms, the "Dialogue between Lesbians and Straight Women," (which was held twice) was the most popular or, at least, the most fun. Boston MFS staffer Leslie Cagan did an outstanding job facilitating. My rough calculation reveals that at least half, perhaps as many as two-thirds of the Conference went to it. It was refreshing to see women of various sexual preferences get along so well in a setting which could be difficult. A number of women said it was the first time (they knew) they had met any lesbians, and felt positively about it. The workshop

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Some of the WRL staff and E.C. members who attended the Feminism and Militarism conference. Standing [left to right]: Grace Hedemann, Donna Warnock, Merriel Fish, Joanne Sheehan, Lynne Shatzkin Coffin, Sybil Claiborne, Wendy Schwartz. Sitting: Susan Pines, Tara and her mother, Sunshine Sutherland.

Donna Warnock will be joining the WRL/West staff in June as coordinator of their feminism and nonviolence program.

The Nuclear Freeze Campaign— A Discussion

"To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals."

This opening paragraph of the Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race represents the essence of what is better known as the campaign for a "Nuclear Weapons Freeze."

The Freeze Campaign began with the circulation of a 4-page flier a little over a year ago. It seeks to establish broad public support through its bilateral approach.

In August 1980, a minority report based on the Freeze was narrowly defeated for inclusion in the Democratic Party Platform. On November 4, three western Massachusetts state senatorial districts supported a referendum for the Freeze with 60% of the vote. In fact, 30 of the 33 towns which gave a majority vote to Reagan also voted in favor of the Freeze.

The first national strategy meeting for the Freeze was held March 20-22, 1981, in Washington, D.C. It was attended by 300 people from 33 states. A basic 4-stage strategy proposal was adopted: 1) demonstrate the potential of the Freeze; 2) build broad public support; 3) focus on the Government and make the Freeze part of a national debate; 4) win the debate and adopt the Freeze.

Endorsement and support of the Freeze was raised at the March 13-15 War Resisters League National Committee meeting by War Resisters League/West which is actively involved in the freeze campaign, as are some other WRL members and groups. After lengthy discussion, the NC decided against endorsement. As part of a continuing dialogue *WRL News* is presenting the following views reflecting some of the discussion at the NC. We encourage your response to the views expressed here as we all struggle for the best ways to eliminate the growing threat posed by nuclear weapons.

The Freeze: First Step Approach to Disarmament

By Steve Ladd

The U.S. and the Soviet Union are about to embark on the biggest nuclear weapons buildup *in history*. At least 17,000 new nuclear warheads will be added in the 1980's to our already massive stockpiles at a cost of $100 to $150 billion. Presumably the Soviets have similar plans, But the numbers aren't as significant as the kinds of weapons that would be produced. Most of these weapons are first strike, "nuclear warfighting" weapons. If these weapons are produced and deployed, the risk of nuclear war will increase dramatically while verifiable arms limitation and reduction measures, let alone disarmament, might become nearly impossible.

Stopping these weapons on both sides is an *urgent priority*. If we cannot stop these weapons, we will never be able to reduce and eventually eliminate the 50,000 nuclear warheads currently in the U.S. and Soviet arsenals. Frankly, if we remain the scattered, small, relatively powerless movement we are now, we will *never* stop these new weapons, or cause the elimination of even one single weapon in our current arsenal.

If we are to turn around the arms race and move towards disarmament, our most basic priority must be to build a massive movement that has the active and tacit support of large segments of this society. We will never make much headway on this issue until we have enlisted the support of many more people. In order to build such a movement at least two things must happen: (1) a mid- to long-term strategy must be developed that has the potential for getting broad support from a wide spectrum of citizens; and (2) every possible group and individual concerned about the arms race must unite behind that strategy. Without these two things, we will never be more than a marginal movement with little or no impact on weapons policies. This does not mean that other kinds of organizing that does not necessarily broaden the base of support, like resistance actions, are not necessary. But I strongly believe that these actions or more radical proposals will be relatively isolated and ineffective, ignored by most of the public, until there is a much larger movement.

A major new national effort to stop the arms race has recently gotten underway that I am convinced has a well-thought out strategy with the potential for getting wide support. So far it has also united most of the national peace groups, many local groups, a significant part of the religious community, a number of congressional representatives, and many others behind it. This Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, as it is popularly known, is based on the simple proposal that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. should jointly halt the further development, production, or deployment of new nuclear weapons systems. Both sides are encouraged to take unilateral steps to achieve the Freeze. A three to five year strategy has been worked out, which includes a series of phases designed to reach out to the American public, and create enough support so that the Freeze is debated nationally and eventually won through public pressure.

The Freeze is basically a first step approach towards disarmament. It presents a realistic, winnable interim goal on the way to actual disarmament. Although our desires might be to see more substantial disarmament brought about rapidly, the harsh reality is that achieving even the seemingly sensible, modest Freeze proposal will be a very difficult task, requiring a massive popular movement that does not now exist, and more than a few years. The terrifying state of the arms race, the current political climate, and the lack of a large movement opposed to the arms race demand that we think in more practical, immediate, terms for the time being.

This does not mean that achieving the Freeze would be an insignificant victory. On the contrary, it would be an historic accomplishment in itself, but by no means the achievement of our ultimate goal. Among the things the Freeze would achieve if implemented are: the reduction of tensions between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.; a halt to the development of first strike weapons, in-

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cluding the non-verifiable cruise missiles; preventing either the U.S. or U.S.S.R. from achieving nuclear superiority; setting the stage and creating a momentum for real reductions in stockpiles; improving the prospects for stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries; and strengthening the economy by reducing military spending, while providing more funds for social programs.

As a local/regional organizer, the Freeze is a very useful tool for my disarmament work. It provides a national context for my local organizing—both a clear national policy objective and the sense of working alongside many other people all over the country towards that objective. Most of my work in the last four-and-a-half years has been focused on nuclear weapons facilities. I now understand that without a change in national policy, like the Freeze, none of the facilities that I am concerned about will ever change. The Freeze also provides the best tool I have seen yet for outreach to new people, specifically because it is simple to understand, it is a sensible and limited proposal, and it is fair (meaning bi-lateral), although it allows us to focus on pressuring the U.S. to take action.

The Freeze proposal has already generated much enthusiasm and interest nationally, as was manifest at the very energetic, well-attended first national strategy conference. More than 100,000 copies of the Call have been distributed, numerous communities are active in building grassroots support, while many others are gearing up to join in the effort.

I believe it is very important for the WRL nationally to participate in some way in the Nuclear Freeze Campaign. At this critical point in history, we have got to join with others who are opposed as we are to the arms race in order to build a united approach that can develop some real strength. I also believe WRL has some important contributions it can make based on our own politics. The Freeze *is* a limited approach. WRL's vision is broader and more long-term. While supporting the concept of the Freeze, we can help to make sure it is *only a first step*, not an end in itself. We can also emphasize unilateral approaches. the WRL role in this campaign could include developing materials and actions that stress that the best way to achieve a bi-lateral freeze would be for the U.S. to implement it unilaterally. We could also develop a comprehensive plan for total disarmament, with the Freeze as the first step.

Reagan's National Security Advisor Richard Allen recently expressed the administration's concern at the "outright pacifist sentiments which are surfacing abroad." He was referring, of course, to the effect that the European Nuclear Disarmament movement has had on European public opinion. I am convinced that we can have Richard Allen expressing the same concern about "pacifist sentiment" in this country in the near future if we get behind the Freeze campaign.

The Freeze: A Step Backwards

By Ed Hedemann

Though a small step, a freeze on new nuclear weaponry would be a significant and important event for the United States and Soviet Union. And there is no question that a bilateral freeze is more likely to appeal to the general public than unilateral disarmament. Also, a freeze is a likely stage through which a disarming country will pass.

That the Freeze Campaign reflects a moderate position not only to WRL members, but even to the general public is certainly well established. This is borne out by the fact that it was *almost* adopted as part of the Democratic Party platform last August, that it was supported by those who voted for Reagan, and that it is considered mild in comparison to the very popular anti-nuclear weapons movement in Britain. The British Labor Party's adoption of unilateral nuclear disarmament makes a freeze look like something Margaret Thatcher might promote.

But it does not necessarily follow that the more moderate position, due to its broader appeal, is more realistic or even more likely to build the movement.

Problems with the Freeze

The problems with the Freeze* are its limited vision, by not projecting disarmament as the goal; tactical narrowness, through exclusion of direct action; and unrealistic strategy, by assuming appeals to the establishment *alone* will sustain the movement and create significant change.

The disarmament movement needs to raise to the forefront its demand for disarmament and project the freeze on new nuclear weaponry as *only* a first step towards that goal. The Freeze, implying a complacency with the existing balance of terror, does not even hint at how long the freeze is to be maintained until disarmament actually begins. But in addition to giving a direction to the movement, a radical position is more likely to legitimize a center position, such as a freeze, allowing more moderate elements in the country to move further politically than if the movement had simply chosen the center position.

The Freeze represents the latest in a series of political retreats by the movement since 1977. Four years ago the Mobilization for Survival circulated a petition prior to the UN Special Session on Disarmament, calling for a reduction in the nuclear weapons stockpile, a cut in military spending, elimination of arms and nuclear technology exports, in addition to a *unilateral* freeze. It was followed by the politically more conservative, but still unilateral, Moratorium petition. And now the Freeze.

The basic Freeze strategy seeks to create change primarily through the educational means of petitions, referendums, resolutions, letters to the editor, visiting Congresspeople, and ads—*while discouraging direct action* This is a strategy programmed to fail. Simply persuading the general public is not enough to alter government policy. For example, Americans have overwhelmingly favored gun control for decades, yet Congress continues to defeat measures which seek to regulate handguns. It is a dangerous illusion to assume those in power are likely to give up that power without a struggle. Historically, the most significant social and political changes have *not* come through limited tactics used to achieve moderate goals.

What we need is not a narrowing of our tactics, but an expansion that encourages demonstrations, rallies, civil disobedience, and other forms of direct action *in addition to*—not in place of—petitioning, etc.

Campaigns often need properly-timed catalysts to set people into motion. The civil rights movement in the South was propelled through a series of dramatic campaigns and actions. For example, Rosa Parks' refusal to leave the white section of a Montgomery bus catalyzed the successful bus boycott. The rash of integration sit-ins was begun by four black men who were fed up with a segregated lunch counter near their school. The successful campaign to desegregate downtown Birmingham was conducted through a series of nonviolent direct actions. Martin Luther King even had to write his "Letter from Birmingham Jail" arguing against pro-integration moderates who criticized the direct action orientation of the campaign. It was the mass civil disobedience at the Seabrook nuclear power plant in 1977 which galvanized the anti-nuclear movement, and provided the spark which set fire to anti-nuclear organizing around the country. And of course, the Vietnam War did not end simply as a result of public education and appeals to the Government.

The Freeze, despite its initial broad appeal, may actually undermine or retard the disarmament movement, rather than helping to build it. After the early successes of the Freeze Campaign, activists may become

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**I am using "Freeze" to refer to the Freeze Campaign, and "freeze" to refer to the actual process of putting a freeze on weaponry.*

Ed Hedemann is a WRL National staff member.

War Tax Resistance Actions Around the Country

By Grace Hedemann

NEW YORK—Every day from April 9-15, a small group of people entered the "taxpayer assistance area" of the Manhattan IRS to distribute war tax resistance leaflets. Each group came equipped with a card table and signs, in addition to literature.

The purpose of leafletting inside the IRS was to have the opportunity to talk with taxpayers as they waited for counselling, and to provide a visible contrast to the smooth functioning of the tax collection arm of the war-making machinery.

The IRS varied its response to the demonstrators each of the six days: some arrests were by City police, some by Federal; one day the leafletters were allowed to stay for 45 minutes before arrest; other days they were arrested immediately; another day demonstrators were dragged out several times before arrest; some demonstrators were arrested before they did anything; two of the days leafletters were taken to a judge before release. The charges varied from "trespassing" to "disturbances" to "talking too loud."

Once an initially belligerent Federal sergeant was so charmed by those he arrested, that after the arrests he helped leaflet (outside the IRS) and encouraged people not to pay their war taxes. Other arresting police expressed a lot of support for the demonstrators.

A total of 24 people were arrested, and four of them twice. In addition, on April 15 a small rally was held outside the main entrance of the IRS. Tax resisted money was distributed to six community groups at the rally.

The week-long activities, sponsored by the NYC WRL local, were carried six times on four TV stations, at least six radio stations, and articles appeared in at least four newspapers, including a photo in the New York *Post* and the cartoon strip reprinted here from the *Village Voice*.

Among those arrested were WRL high school intern Lori Nessel, Executive Committee member Kathy Engel, NYC WRL local group members Vicki Rovere, Peter Geidel, Walter Goodman, WIN staffer John Miller, WIN Editorial Board member Kate Donnelly, and WRL staff member Ed Hedemann (twice in the same day). Arraignments are scheduled for late April and early May.

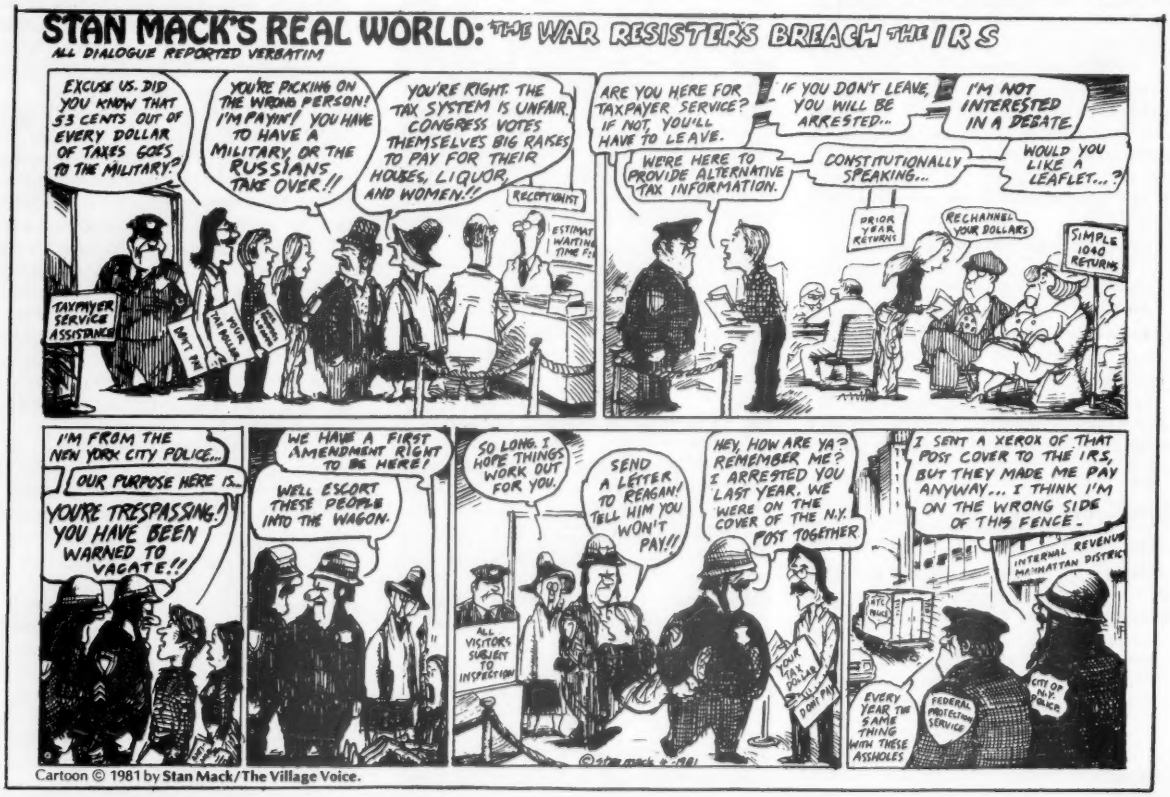
Leafletting *inside* the Manhattan IRS has happened every year since 1974, but arrests have only been made the last three years. Walter, Vicki, and Ed were among those arrested in previous years.

PHILADELPHIA—Philadelphia WRL/WTR and Friends Peace Committee held a rally on April 15th in front of the Federal Building distributing war-tax resistance fliers. Two members of the group leafletted inside the Federal Building at IRS without incident, even in the "taxpayer assistance area!" In fact, employees of IRS took leaflets with interest.

The group then marched to City Hall where Joseph Coleman, City Council President, accepted $1800 in tax resisted money "symbolically and in principle." He then returned the money to the group to be distributed to community organizations. One check was over $500, but most checks were $5 and $10 dollars.

The Philadelphia City Council in March passed Resolution #433 which supported transferring funds from the federal military budget to basic social programs in the Delaware Valley being cut by the 1982 federal budget. WRLers urged President Coleman to pass a City Council resolution that would allow citizens to designate where their money should go.

LOS ANGELES — WRL / Southern California sponsored a demonstration on April 15th outside the Veteran's Administration Hospital. The group protested the diversion of funds from human needs such


STAN MACK'S REAL WORLD: THE WAR RESISTER'S BREACH THE IRS
ALL DIALOGUE REPORTED VERBATIM
EXCUSE US. DID YOU KNOW THAT 53 CENTS OUT OF EVERY DOLLAR OF TAXES GOES TO THE MILITARY?
YOU'RE PICKING ON THE WRONG PERSON! I'M PAYIN'! YOU HAVE TO HAVE A MILITARY, OR THE RUSSIANS TAKE OVER!!
YOU'RE RIGHT. THE TAX SYSTEM IS UNFAIR. CONGRESS VOTES THEMSELVES BIG RAISES TO PAY FOR THEIR HOUSES, LIQUOR, AND WOMEN!!
RECEPTIONIST
TAXPAYER SERVICE ASSISTANCE
ARE YOU HERE FOR TAXPAYER SERVICE? IF NOT, YOU'LL HAVE TO LEAVE.
IF YOU DON'T LEAVE, YOU WILL BE ARRESTED..
I'M NOT INTERESTED IN A DEBATE.
WE'RE HERE TO PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE TAX INFORMATION.
CONSTITUTIONALLY SPEAKING...
WOULD YOU LIKE A LEAFLET...?
PRIOR YEAR RETURNS
RECHANNEL YOUR DOLLARS
SIMPLE 1040 RETURNS
I'M FROM THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE...
OUR PURPOSE HERE IS...
YOU'RE TRESPASSING! YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED TO VACATE!!
WE HAVE A FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHT TO BE HERE!
WE'LL ESCORT THESE PEOPLE INTO THE WAGON.
SO LONG. I HOPE THINGS WORK OUT FOR YOU.
SEND A LETTER TO REAGAN! TELL HIM YOU WON'T PAY!!
HEY, HOW ARE YA? REMEMBER ME? I ARRESTED YOU LAST YEAR. WE WERE ON THE COVER OF THE N.Y. POST TOGETHER
ALL VISITORS SUBJECT TO INSPECTION
YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK
I SENT A XEROX OF THAT POST COVER TO THE IRS, BUT THEY MADE ME PAY ANYWAY... I THINK I'M ON THE WRONG SIDE OF THIS FENCE.
INTERNAL REVENUE MANHATTAN DISTRICT
EVERY YEAR THE SAME THING WITH THESE ASSHOLES
FEDERAL PROTECTION SERVICE
CITY OF N.Y. POLICE
©stan mack '81
Cartoon © 1981 by Stan Mack/The Village Voice.

as veteran's health care into military spending and destruction.

WRLers brought attention to veterans as victims of war and a demand that money be spent for better health care for veterans and human needs for all sectors of society. The group voiced its support for Agent Orange and Atomic veterans—the victims of U.S. weapons.

ATLANTA—The Tax Conversion Fund for Peace and Human Needs demonstrated in front of IRS on April 14th. The group leafleted and did counseling. During these activities WRLers performed a skit with a military man taking money from a government man, while a poor person sat on a stool, occasionally getting one or two dollars and then having that snatched away to give to the military. A $200 grant was made to the local Hunger Coalition at a press conference on April 16th.

DALLAS—Local WRL members leafletted in front of the main post office from 8 pm to midnight on April 15th.

SAN FRANCISCO—WRL/West held a protest and leafletted against war taxes on April 15th at the Federal Building from 10 am to 1 pm.

Nuclear Weapons Protest

PITTSBURGH—"The Coming Nuclear Holocaust" banner and a coffin were carried through Pittsburgh's streets on April 24th to the U.S. Steel Building where Rockwell International Corporation is located on the 50th floor.

Two WRL members, Rev. Jesse Hunter and Tim Sperry, attempted to enter the building carrying the coffin asking Rockwell International to take responsibility for present and future nuclear victims as a result of the company's nuclear weapons work. The two were charged with defiant trespass, a summary offense like a traffic ticket. However, the Magistrate felt they should be taught a lesson. He fined them $300 each and sentenced them to three days in the county jail. They are appealing.

WRL Local Groups

NATIONAL OFFICE, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012 (212-228-0450).

REGIONAL OFFICES

WRL/Southeast, 604 West Chapel Hill Street, Durham, NC 27701 (919-682-6374).
WRL/West, 85 Carl Street, San Francisco, CA 94117 (415-731-1220).

LOCAL OFFICES

Albuquerque WRL, 201 Pine S.E., Albuquerque, NM 87106 (505-243-6169).
Atlanta WRL, 1225 Cameron Court N.E., Atlanta, GA 30306.
Birmingham WRL, 567-B Tyler Loop Rd., Pinson, AL 35126 (205-681-7034).
Central Florida WRL, 615 E. Livingston, Orlando, FL 32803 (305-425-3285).
Dallas WRL, 2710 Woodmere, Dallas, TX 75233 (214-337-5885, evening).
Detroit WRL, 1542 W. Alexandrine, Detroit, MI 48208 (313-833-3197).
Direct Action Committee/WRL, Jan Thorton, 413 S.E. 1st, #C, Evansville, IN 47713.
Foothills WRL, 3024 Ross Dr. #A-4, Ft. Collins, CO 80521 (303-482-9641; 482-0369).
Hawaii WRL/catholic Action, 1918 University Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822 (808-949-1210).
Inland Empire WRL, 1336 North Wall Ave., San Bernardino, CA 92404 (714-889-3170).
LaCrosse Area WRL, 614 South 16th St., LaCrosse, WI 54601 (608-782-2136).
Lamoille Peace Coalition/WRL, P.O. Box 43, Johnson, VT 05656 (802-635-2618).
Monmouth County WRL, P.O. Box 131, Fair Haven, NJ 07701 (201-899-4383; 747-0566).
Morgantown WRL, 912½ Monongahlea Ave., Morgantown, WV 26505 (304-292-9678).
Muncie/Ball State WRL, P.O. Box 401, Student Center, Muncie, IN 47306 (317-289-6710).
New Brunswick WRL, P.O. Box 1895, New Brunswick, NJ 08903 (201-356-6083).
New Paltz WRL, P.O. Box 83, New Paltz, NY 12562 (914-255-8627).
New York City WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.
Norwich WRL, P.O. Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360 (203-889-5337).
Oak Park WRL, 645 North Taylor, Oak Park, IL 60302 (312-386-0192).
Ozarks Area WRL, 626 East Normal, Springfield, MO 65807 (417-864-4078).
Philadelphia WRL/WTR, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (215-545-4626).
Pittsburgh WRL, 5899 Bartlett St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217 (412-422-0377).
Rochester WRL, 713 Monroe Ave., Rochester, NY 14607 (716-244-7191).
St. Louis WRL, 962 Warder, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314-726-4662).
Southern California WRL, 866¼ E. Kensington Rd., Los Angeles, CA 90026 (213-629-2998).
Triangle Area WRL, 604 West Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 22701 (919-682-6374; 489-1553).

The Freeze *Continued from page 5*

frustrated by the lack of Government responsiveness, thus leading to burnouts and fragmentation of the movement.

For a freeze to succeed, our literature, rhetoric, and program must aim beyond a freeze—to disarmament itself. In addition to legitimizing a certain position, this will forestall the tendency of the movement to stop once a freeze has been achieved, as the B-1 Bomber Campaign ended with the cancellation of the B-1 Bomber, and the Ban the Bomb movement with the Partial Test Ban Treaty. Further, street activity and direct action tactics should be incorporated as a vital part of the program, not simply as an afterthought.

WRL's Role

Considering WRL represents a small (in size) opposition element in this society, to moderate our position by adopting the Freeze is to moderate our impact, not strengthen or broaden it. WRL's strength and value comes from the strength of its politics, commitment of its membership, and willingness to engage in street actions. The disarmament movement would be best served if WRL were to:

- encourage focus on local military facilities (e.g., conversion campaigns)
- participate in the organizing of mass actions at appropriate times
- promote the vision of a disarmed world through urging all countries to disarm unilaterally, while supporting any steps which bring us closer to disarmament
- help catalyze the disarmament movement through the use of imaginative and dramatic projects.

At the beginning of the Vietnam War, when many groups were calling on the U.S. to "negotiate," WRL pushed for immediate withdrawal and an end to aid. With the nuclear stakes so high, we cannot be content with "negotiate a freeze"—our cry and our program must be for total disarmament.

WRL NEWS

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WRL is the U.S. branch of the War Resisters' International, a pacifist organization with affiliates in 18 countries.

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WRL News (from 1967 on) is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Feminism and Militarism Conference

Continued from page 3

provided an important opportunity to connect the personal and political and many felt that as political women it was crucial for us to explore the ways in which we love as an expression of our vision as feminists and/or pacifists.

Another highlight of the weekend was the participation of Debbie Cerrillo, Vice President of the Love Canal Homeowners' Association, who gave a workshop on how living with the threat of environmental destruction affects women's lives. Debbie, her husband and three children were forced to abandon their home because of the now scandalous mess of toxic wastes left there by Hooker Chemical. I heard great reports of her workshop, especially her retelling of their hostage-taking action, but want to say that even for those who couldn't attend it, having Debbie among us was very important and very special. Her presence was a reminder of all who are affected by ecological destruction. Many of us were excited by Debbie's enthusiastic response to her first exposure to feminists, and WRL members, in particular, couldn't help but notice with pride that Debbie left the Conference wearing one of our broken rifle pins.

Other workshops included Assaults on Nature with feminist author Dorothy Dinnerstein; Women in Relation to Liberation Struggles with Ruth Reynolds of the Vieques Support Network; How We Raise Children in a Militaristic Society with Grace Paley; Reproductive Rights & Sterilization Abuse with Janet Gallagher, and too many more to name.

The major criticism of the Conference, a significant one, was that there was only one Black woman there and she had been specially invited to speak. A related issue that kept arising was the relationship between the nonviolent movement and Third World Liberation struggles. What came out loud and clear, however, is that none of these women are ignoring the matter.

The Conference didn't come out with any manifestos or big plans for action. It did provide a lot of enthusiasm, and a chance for women to meet. As we gathered in our closing circle on Sunday, pleading that we have more such occasions, spontaneously bursting into one song after another, skipping hand in hand out of the building into the sunlight, one long line of wonderful women dancing, laughing, singing, all still connected, finally passing a kiss around the circle, I thought how much strength we women had given each other in a few precious days. For this, I am most thankful.

WRL National Committee Meets

The WRL National Committe *Photo by Karl Bissinger*

In what was probably the most representational gathering lately of the WRL, the National Committee met in New York City the weekend of March 13-15. At least 15 locals, all the regionals and the Executive Committee met to discuss WRL program in the coming months.

The weekend began with a pot-luck dinner and a film of the Women's Pentagon Action last November. We also had a discussion about how WRL was to relate to the different groups organizing around El Salvador (see Jerry Coffin's article).

The rest of the weekend was spent on discussion of WRL program, reports from Task Forces, finances, business, etc. There was a long discussion on our disarmament work for the coming months, which included how WRL would relate to the Freeze campaign (see articles in this issue); a commitment by the national committee to raise money to hire a staffperson to work on a racism program; a long discussion on abortion ended with the NC affirming the right for a woman to have a legal abortion and to support the right to economic assistance for an abortion or to have a child if she chooses.

One of the best parts of a meeting like this is getting to know WRL folks from all different parts of the country. Many people commented at the end of the weekend that they left feeling really recharged to be there and to be part of such a group.

—Susan Pines

Peggy Duff Dies

On April 17th, Good Friday, Cora Weiss called to say she had some bad news. Peggy Duff, General Secretary of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, was dead. She had died in a London hospital a day earlier. Peggy was not everyone's cup of tea. When her teeth got fixed on a cigar she could look remarkably like a feminine Winston Churchill. They shared in common a very special British quality and what he had been for war and empire, Peggy Duff was for independent socialism and disarmament.

She was a fighter for a non-aligned position. For years she had been, in her own person, the ICDP, holding together contacts that reached from Vietnam to Tel Aviv, from Tokyo to New York to Paris to Moscow. She had been an active leader in the British Labour Party and then resigned when the Labour Party supported the U.S. on the issue of Vietnam. She was a close friend of the Vietnamese, helping them obtain an audience in the non-Communist West at a time when the Soviets had tried to keep them isolated from such direct contact. She traveled widely in Vietnam after the war.

If she had made the right enemies, she also had friends who were devoted to her. She had been seriously ill for many months but struggled fiercely to the end. At the time of her death—and she had been in the hospital only a week—she was planning a major conference of the ICDP in Germany for late May. Her death is a personal loss, and a very keen one, for some of us. For all of us it is a political loss which is hard to measure. Peggy had fought very hard to maintain a non-aligned international force. What she fought for is a necessity, a linking of pacifists and socialists and independent elements on the Left. It must continue. The tragedy—and the measure of how much we had all counted on Peggy—is that we do not know how it can be done. Memorial Services will be held in London and, it is expected, in New York City. **—David McReynolds**

Staff Position Open at WRL/West

WRL/West is seeking a full-time member for our collective staff. The new staff member would have major responsibility for coordinating WRL/West fundraising and finances. S/he would also share office and other administrative work. Fundraising experience, a feminist awareness, commitment to nonviolence, and an ability to work collectively are basic requirements. We ask a minimum one-year commitment. Stipend is $500/mo. plus some benefits. Deadline for application is July 15, 1981. We want to hire by September 1. For more information, contact WRL/West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

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